DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 104 893 95 SP 009 140

AUTHOR Weidman, Carla Sue; Weidman, John C.
TITLE The Woman Professor of Education: Social and Occupational Characteristics.
PUB DATE 1 Apr 75
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Washington, D.C., April 1, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.58 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Rank (Professional); Colleges; Comparative Analysis; Higher Education; Professional Personnel; *Salary Differentials; *Sex Discrimination; Tables (Data); Universities; *Women Professors

ABSTRACT

This study was carried out because little of the recent research on sex discrimination has dealt with education as a special field. A comparison of social and career characteristics of male and female professors of education was carried out to examine whether a basis existed for discrimination by sex. Data for the study were obtained from the National Survey of Higher Education conducted by the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education and the American Council on Education. Findings pointed to the following: a) discrimination against women in the areas of rank and salary seems more pervasive in universities than in four-year colleges; b) women education professors earn less than their male counterparts at all ranks in both universities and four-year colleges; c) when highest degree is held constant, men in both universities and four-year colleges are more likely to hold the rank of professor than are women; and d) men generally receive a higher salary than women in cases where salary was examined as a reward for productivity. This study confirmed that rank and salary differentials favored men even when highest degree and productivity were controlled. (Tables of data are included.) (PB)

The Woman Professor of Education:
Social and Occupational Characteristics

by

Carla Sue Weidman

University of Minnesota

and

John C. Weidman

University of Minnesota

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A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the
American Educational Research Association
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The Woman Professor of Education: Social and Occupational Characteristics*

The field of education has traditionally had a large number of female majors, both in graduate and undergraduate programs. According to Morlock (1973), statistics for 1969-70 show that women earned 75% of bachelor's degrees in education but only 55% of the masters and 20% of the doctorates. The percentage of doctorates earned by women has remained constant at 20% for the years 1928-1970. Nevertheless, while the proportion of women earning doctorates in education is small, it is the academic field in which the largest number of doctorates are conferred on women (Astin, 1973).

Aside from the discrepancy between the number of undergraduate majors and doctorates in education, recent research has indicated sex discrimination in the areas of rank and salary (Astin, 1969, 1972, 1973; Astin and Bayer, 1972; Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973; Morlock, 1973; Patterson, 1973; Graham, 1973; Centra, 1974; LaSorte, 1971). Unfortunately, much of the research has not dealt with education as a special field. Centra (1974) included a small sample of education doctorates in his survey, but much of his data does not include specific contrasts between male and female faculty. A systematic comparison of social and career characteristics of both men and women professors of education seems necessary in order to examine whether any basis exists for discrimination by sex. In addition, we will present data on professors of education, a group heretofore relatively underrepresented in research on the academic professions.

A review of related literature suggests the following expectations for this research. First, women professors of education are expected to have somewhat different background and family characteristics than men. Women are expected to have higher socioeconomic origins than their male counterparts, perhaps because these

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*This article is based in part on data gathered by the National Survey of Higher Education, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and supported in part as a cooperative research project by funds from the United States Office of Education. Detailed information on these surveys can be found in Martin Trow, et al (1972). Support for the data analysis was provided by the University of Minnesota Computation Center.

women consistently received pressures for achievement as well as financial support from their families (Astin, 1972; Astin, 1973; Pritchard, et al, 1971). Women professors generally are also less likely to be married than their male counterparts (Bayer, 1970:12). Second, in examining the training of men and women, one would expect that there would be a longer period between obtaining a bachelor's degree and a doctorate for women than for men (Centra, 1974; Bayer, 1970:13). This may reflect the effects of sex discrimination in graduate school admissions, especially at the doctoral level, as well as the trend for women to resume their graduate training after a break for child-rearing. Third, career patterns for men and women are expected to show different trends, with women tending to have lower ranks and salaries, even when highest degree obtained and productivity are held constant (Astin, 1969; Astin, 1972; Graham, 1973). Fourth, women tend to be generally less productive in scholarly publications than men. Two factors may explain this discrepancy: women are less likely to receive the institutional rewards of rank and salary for productivity; and, for married women, family demands at critical career points may lower their productivity. In fact, while marital status may be positively related to academic success for men, it often creates the negative factors of role conflict and extra professional demands for women (Husbands, 1972; Feldman, 1973; Bernard, 1964; Epstein, 1970; Centra, 1974, Astin, 1969). Morlock (1973) has documented that the productivity of single women in political science is like that of men while married women's productivity is lower. Astin (1969) has suggested an additional factor which influences productivity for women doctorates. She found that the most productive women tended to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, often with working parents who both had unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. These factors seem to indicate that differential productivity for men and women may be a function of environmental and background factors rather than a disinterest on the part of women for engaging in scholarly research.

Study Design

Data for the study are from the National Survey of Higher Education conducted by the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education in cooperation with the American Council on Education (Trow, et al, 1972). Bayer (1970: 3-4) describes the sample design for this study as follows:

> In March of 1969 the survey questionnaire was mailed to a sample of regular faculty at 303 U.S. colleges and universities, primarily those institutions which participated in the 1966 Cooperative Institutional Research Program of the American Council on Education (Astin, Panos, and Creager, 1967). A disproportionate random sampling design was used in selecting these institutions in order to obtain adequate numbers of institutions of various types and characteristics (Creager, 1968). The 303 institutions...include 57 junior colleges, 168 four year colleges and 78 universities. They range in size from a faculty of fewer than 20 to a faculty of more than 4000.
>
> The 303 institutional representatives for the ACE Cooperative Institutional Research Program were sent letters...which requested that they provide rosters showing the names and addresses of all regular teaching faculty at their institutions. A six in seven random sample of faculty was selected from these rosters for the survey; included were 100,315 regular faculty--from both academic departments and professional schools--who were responsible for the teaching of any degree-credit course during the 1968-1969 academic year... Usable returns were finally received from 60,028 respondents (59.8 per cent).

Systematic investigations of non-response bias (Trow, et al., 1972: 49-60) indicated that the sample achieved was very close to the criterion sample based on actual distributions of faculty among various types of institutions that was developed prior to the data collection. The only discrepancies discovered between the achieved and criterion samples were small overrepresentations of Ph.D. holders and individuals interested in research or research and teaching.

In order to estimate national norms for education faculty, the data were weighted. A detailed discussion of the weighting procedure can be found in Trow, et. al. (1972: 29-39). Bayer (1970: 4) describes the weighting procedure as follows:

> Three sets of weights were developed. The first is a between-college weight which adjusts the data for the disproportionate sampling of institutions from the population. The second is within-college weight which adjusts for the six in seven sampling of faculty and for the differential response rates of faculty (by degree level) at the various institutions. The third, the subject weight, is the product of the first two and was applied in the subsequent processing of subject data records on file.

Faculty whose "present principal teaching field" was one of the following subfields (response categories as they appeared on the questionnaire) of education are included in the present research: education, elementary and/or secondary, foundations, educational psychology and counseling, educational administration, and "other" education fields. Faculty in physical education and industrial arts are not included. The raw n for the sample used in the present research was 3049; the weighted n was 23,806. 26.6 percent of the weighted sample were women. A comparison of the Carnegie-ACE weighted data with another study of education professors based on U.S. Office of Education statistics (Counelis, 1969) indicated similar distributions of education faculty in universities (Counelis, 41.2%; Carnegie-ACE, 45.1%) and in four-year colleges (Counelis, 58.8%; Carnegie-ACE, 54.9%). In the weighted sample for the present research, 53.1 per cent of the men and 60.6 per cent of the women teach more than six hours of classes each week. All tables in the following data analysis are based on weighted data, i.e., each

individual's responses are weighted by his or her subject weight. Because the data are weighted, no tests of statistical significance are used.

FINDINGS

Contrary to expectations, the women professors of education do not come from proportionately higher socioeconomic backgrounds than men (Table 1). Women were only slightly more likely to come from professional backgrounds (17.4%) than men (12.3%). Generally, it appears that professors of education, both men and women, tend to have origins in the middle class.

Marital status, on the other hand, did differ between the two sexes (Table 2). A substantially larger proportion of the women professors of education remained single (39%) than did the men (7.1%). This may indicate an awareness on the part of the women of the difficulties of combining family obligations and career demands, a factor which is more salient for women than for men.

As shown in Table 3, women were more likely to take a longer time in obtaining a Ph.D. than men. The difference in length of time was not so striking for professors whose highest degree was a doctorate other than the Ph.D., or a master's degree. In addition, there is a discrepancy between the proportion of women who have Ph.D.'s (18.5%) and the proportion of men who have Ph.D.'s (31.0%). Women are much more likely to have only a master's degree than are men. This may reflect differential career aspirations by sex.

The findings about rank and salaries of women professors tend to support the contention that there is sex discrimination. Because of differential hiring practices, it seemed important to treat universities and four-year colleges separately in the following analysis. In the present sample, women are much more likely to be employed in colleges (69.6%) than in universities (31.4%), while men are equally likely to be employed in colleges (50.7%) and universities (49.3%).

Discrimination against women in the areas of rank and salary appears to be more pervasive in the universities than in the four-year colleges, a finding which suggests that women hired by universities are less likely to receive the institutional rewards than their counterparts in colleges. The discrepancy between the status of women in colleges and universities is not as great for type of appointment as for the other institutional variables. Nevertheless, as Table 4 indicates, women in universities are slightly less likely to have a regular appointment with tenure than women in colleges. Women professors of education are almost twice as likely to have non-tenure track positions (Acting, Visiting) as are men, in both colleges and universities.

When the highest degree is held constant, men in both universities and colleges are more likely to hold the rank of professor than are women (Tables 5 and 6). However, this sex differential is much more pronounced for universities than it is for colleges. Women professors of education in colleges who hold a doctorate other than the Ph.D. are slightly more likely to hold the rank of professor than men in this degree category. These women holding doctorates other than the Ph.D. do, in fact, have the rank of professor more frequently than women Ph.D.'s who are also teaching in colleges. Generally, in colleges, both men and women professors of education are more likely to have a higher rank, holding degree constant, than their counterparts in universities.

An analysis of sex differences in salary among men and women professors of education showed clear and consistent differentials favoring men. As shown by the salary distributions by rank in Table 7, women education professors in universities earn less than their male counterparts at all ranks. The same is true for women education professors in four-year colleges. This is shown in Table 8.

Table 9 shows the relationship between salary and highest degree earned for both men and professors of education in universities. As was the case with respect to rank, men tend to get higher salaries than women, independent of highest degree earned. Similar results are shown in Table 10 for women education professors in four-year colleges.

We were also concerned with the relationship between scholarly productivity and institutional rewards in terms of salaries. Since the journal article is the most prevalent mode of scholarly writing, we chose to use number of published journal articles as our measure of productivity. Table 11 shows, again, a clear pattern of salary differentials favoring men over women in universities across productivity categories, with the most striking differential by sex among those with eleven or more published journal articles. Similar findings appear in Table 12 for education professors in four-year colleges, except for one notable reversal. Women professors of education in four-year colleges who have published eleven or more articles actually earn more than their male counterparts. This one ray of optimism dims, however, due to the very low case base for this productivity category (the weighted n of 81 is probably based on a raw n of 10-20).

One other set of relationships, those between highest degree and scholarly productivity for men and women professors of education, are shown in Tables 13 and 14. Among those education faculty members with doctorates in universities, the productivity of men was much greater than that for women. The differential in productivity by sex was much smaller for college faculty. In both types of institutions, however, there was a greater sex differential in productivity among those faculty members with Ed.D.'s and other doctorates than their was among the Ph.D.'s.

Finally, we examined for doctorate holders the relationships between scholarly productivity and marital status, and between scholarly productivity

and father's occupation, controlling in both cases for sex. Married women with the Ph.D. tend to be more productive than single women with the Ph.D., contrary to the expectations (Table 15). There is no productivity differential by marital status among men with the Ph.D. Among those holding the Ed.D. or another doctorate, married men are more productive than single men. This is shown in Table 16. Conversely, single women holding the Ed.D. or another doctorate are more productive than their married counterparts. This finding confirms expectations.

Also confirming expectations is the finding reported in Table 17 that women with the Ph.D. from working class backgrounds are more productive than women with the Ph.D. from white collar and professional families. For men with the Ph.D., on the other hand, those from professional families tend to be the most productive.

Among women professors of education with the Ed.D. or another doctorate, those from working class families tend to be less productive than others from professional and white collar families. This is shown in Table 18. Among men with the Ed.D. or another doctorate, there is virtually no productivity, differential by family background.

DISCUSSION

The striking finding in this study was a confirmation of rank and salary differentials favoring men, even when highest degree and productivity were controlled. This differential is consistent for both four year colleges and universities. It is important to note that the data used in this study was collected in 1969, shortly before the advent of affirmative action programs. Nevertheless, Centra's (1974) data for recent doctorates which was collected in 1973 shows similar patterns of salary and rank differentials by sex, thereby raising

the question of whether the sex differences have lessened between 1969 and the present. These findings of differential treatment of men and women are especially discouraging in an academic area such as education which has traditionally attracted large numbers of women.

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Table 1

Father's Occupation of Education Professors by Sex (Per Cent)

		Sex	
		Men	Women
Father's Occupation	Professional[a]	12.3	17.4
	White Collar[b]	54.2	54.0
	Semi- and Unskilled Labor	33.5	28.6
	Weighted N	17,469	6,258

[a]Includes: College-University Teacher, Researcher, and Administrator; Other professional; Owner large business.

[b]Includes: Elementary & Secondary School Teacher or Administrator; Managerial, Administrative, Semi-professional; Owner, small business; Farmer owner or manager; Other white collar, Clerical, Retail Sales; Armed Forces.

Table 2

Marital Status of Education Professors by Sex (Per Cent)

		Sex	
		Men	Women
Marital Status	Married	89.8	46.1
	Single (formerly married)	3.0	14.8
	Single	7.1	39.1
	Weighted N	17,456	6,292

Table 3

Highest Degree of Education Professors by Sex and Amount of Time Between B.A. and Highest Degree (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Years Amount of Time Between B.A. and Highest Degree	Other	.3	0	2.4	4.6	60.8	29.8	81.9	100.0
	1-4	6.0	4.3	5.4	7.6	13.2	31.8	4.7	0
	5-10	46.8	31.3	33.4	31.7	19.9	24.9	11.9	0
	11+	46.9	64.4	58.8	56.1	6.1	13.4	1.5	0
	Weighted N	5192	1163	7068	1271	4299	3440	278	229

Table 4

Type of Appointment of Education Professors by Type of Institution and Sex (Per Cent)

		University		Four-Year College	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Type of Appointments	Reg/Tenure	49.7	38.4	49.4	44.1
	Reg/without Tenure	46.4	54.5	45.9	47.6
	Visiting, Acting	3.9	7.2	4.7	8.3
	Weighted N	8561	1979	8812	4329

Table 5

Rank of Education Professors in Universities by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Rank	Professor	37.8	26.2	31.4	28.6	5.4	2.9	7.7	0
	Associate Professor	26.9	30.3	29.2	29.2	6.2	10.3	6.9	0
	Assistant Professor	31.9	37.5	32.8	31.8	28.2	25.2	25.1	26.7
	Other	3.5	6.0	6.5	10.6	59.6	61.6	60.3	73.3
	Weighted N	3618	564	3382	486	1345	832	119	53

Table 6

Rank of Education Professors in Four-Year Colleges by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Rank	Professor	54.6	34.9	42.4	47.4	5.1	.1	11.5	0
	Associate Professor	25.3	35.6	39.5	20.9	28.1	12.2	18.3	0
	Assistant Professor	16.3	25.9	16.6	26.3	34.8	44.9	34.9	25.9
	Other	3.8	3.6	1.5	5.4	32.0	42.8	35.3	74.4
	Weighted N	1598	599	3626	784	2965	2639	196	176

Table 7

Salary of Education Professors in Universities by Rank and Sex (Per Cent)

		Rank							
		Professor		Associate		Assistant		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999 or less	.4	3.5	2.1	11.6	12.7	46.6	55.0	90.5
	10,000-11,999	1.6	14.9	18.9	27.8	58.9	45.5	21.6	6.8
	12,000-13,999	11.8	29.7	45.3	42.1	25.5	7.9	11.5	2.3
	14,000-16,999	41.0	44.3	28.6	17.3	2.4	0	6.7	.4
	17,000-19,999	30.3	7.5	5.2	1.2	.5	0	2.7	0
	20,000	14.8	0	0	0	0	0	2.5	0
	Weighted N	2538	320	2057	407	2700	596	1232	654

Table 8

Salary of Education Professors in Four-year Colleges by Rank and Sex (Per Cent)

		Rank							
		Professor		Associate		Assistant		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999	10.2	41.1	9.1	41.3	37.6	72.5	79.0	87.4
	10,000-11,999	10.3	5.4	38.0	38.7	49.6	16.4	11.3	7.0
	12,000-13,999	25.2	18.4	38.0	10.2	7.8	7.1	6.5	5.6
	14,000-16,999	28.5	27.4	12.5	8.0	4.9	4.0	3.3	0
	17,000-19,999	22.1	4.6	1.9	1.8	0	0	0	0
	20,000	3.6	3.1	.6	0	0	0	0	0
	Weighted N	2587	608	2893	688	1997	1573	1306	1373

Table 9

Salary of Education Professors in Universities by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D.		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999 or less	4.1	16.9	6.0	28.3	48.3	76.1	43.4	82.2
	10,000-11,999	26.6	31.1	25.2	28.5	32.4	17.4	14.8	0
	12,000-13,999	25.9	32.3	27.4	20.3	12.3	3.5	24.8	17.8
	14,000-16,999	23.1	18.0	25.7	22.1	3.7	1.1	13.3	0
	17,000-19,999	15.0	1.8	10.4	.7	2.1	1.8	0	0
	20,000	5.4	0	5.4	0	1.2	0	3.7	0
	Weighted N	3613	554	3362	478	1337	833	114	53

Table 10

Salary of Education Professors in Four-year Colleges
by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999 or less	11.5	34.3	8.7	47.7	51.1	81.9	42.7	58.9
	10.000-11,999	17.4	22.6	30.4	17.7	31.5	13.7	35.4	22.2
	12,000-13,999	31.7	12.4	27.5	14.3	15.1	4.1	7.2	18.9
	14,000-16,999	20.3	23.6	22.0	18.6	1.8	.3	14.7	0
	17,000-19,999	15.3	5.0	10.3	1.6	0	0	0	0
	20,000+	3.8	2.2	1.0	.8	.4	0	0	0
	Weighted N	1598	566	3666	768	2948	2600	196	176

Table 11

Salary of Education Professors in Universities by Number of Journal Articles Published and Sex (Per Cent)

		Number of Journal Articles							
		None		1-4		5-10		11+	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999 or less	33.1	74.2	13.1	42.4	3.4	9.5	2.1	6.0
	10,000-11,999	36.2	19.3	34.9	35.5	25.7	15.5	9.6	13.6
	12,000-13,999	19.7	3.3	27.1	15.7	33.0	49.2	18.5	34.9
	14,000-16,999	8.6	2.5	18.3	5.3	24.3	24.1	31.5	42.1
	17,000-19,999	1.6	.7	5.3	1.1	12.7	1.7	23.2	3.3
	20,000+	.8	0	1.3	0	1.0	0	15.1	0
	Weighted N	1654	798	3011	686	1458	228	2220	228

Table 12

Salary of Education Professors in Four-Year Colleges by Number of Journal Articles Published and Sex (Per Cent)

		Number of Journal Articles							
		None		1-4		5-10		11+	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nine-month Salary	9,999 or less	39.1	79.0	19.7	61.1	14.8	15.3	2.7	0
	10,000-11,999	33.8	12.6	28.1	21.6	19.8	20.5	15.2	4.0
	12,000-13,999	21.4	8.2	26.6	7.9	17.8	19.9	16.8	0
	14,000-16,999	4.2	.2	17.2	8.9	23.1	39.8	41.8	65.0
	17,000-19,999	1.4	0	7.3	0	22.1	4.5	16.5	15.4
	20,000+	0	0	1.1	.5	2.4	0	7.0	15.6
	Weighted N	3767	2488	3245	1289	1048	278	631	81

Table 13

Number of Journal Articles Published by Education Professors in Universities by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Number of Journal Articles	None	12.1	12.9	15.0	25.0	48.1	69.3	60.2	66.1
	1-4	33.2	44.5	39.1	37.2	38.8	26.3	19.7	33.9
	5-10	22.0	20.4	16.7	18.7	8.5	2.5	9.0	0
	11+	32.7	22.1	29.2	19.2	4.5	1.9	11.2	0
	Weighted N	3567	552	3296	469	1306	825	106	53

Table 14

Number of Journal Articles Published by Education Professors in Colleges by Highest Degree and Sex (Per Cent)

		Highest Degree							
		Ph.D		Other Doctorate		MA MED		Other	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Number of Journal Articles	None	25.0	23.6	30.1	44.8	66.1	70.6	48.5	100.0
	1-4	41.8	47.0	44.8	34.5	25.5	27.0	48.4	0
	5-10	18.9	20.6	15.3	14.6	7.2	2.5	3.2	0
	11+	14.3	8.8	9.9	6.0	1.1	0	0	0
	Weighted N	1587	583	3564	753	2943	2573	196	176

Table 15

Number of Journal Articles Published by Professors of Education with the Ph.D. by Marital Status and Sex (Per Cent)

		Men		Women	
		Married	Single	Married	Single
Number of Journal Articles	None	15.8	21.9	9.5	25.6
	1-4	36.1	30.8	53.7	38.3
	5-10	20.3	33.9	21.1	20.4
	11 or more	27.8	13.5	15.7	15.6
	Weighted N	4876	278	623	483

Table 16

Number of Journal Articles Published by Professors of Education with the Ed.D. or Other Doctorate by Marital Status and Sex (Per Cent)

		Men		Women	
		Married	Single	Married	Single
Number of Journal Articles	None	22.8	24.1	46.3	24.3
	1-4	41.1	62.0	23.8	52.0
	5-10	16.4	2.5	18.4	13.2
	11 or more	19.6	11.3	11.6	10.5
	Weighted N	6489	351	724	491

Table 17

Number of Journal Articles Published by Professors of Education with the Ph.D. by Father's Occupation and Sex (Per Cent)

		Men			Women		
		Professional	White[a] Collar	Skilled, Semi-Skill. Labor	Professional	White Collar	Skilled, Semi-Skilled Labor
Number of Journal Articles	None	9.6	17.9	15.5	28.9	14.7	14.3
	1-4	31.9	36.4	36.2	40.5	53.6	31.4
	5-10	36.9	18.7	18.3	16.9	12.7	47.3
	11 or more	21.7	27.0	29.9	13.7	19.1	7.0
	Weighted N	699	3034	1416	302	613	219

[a]See notes for Table 1.

Table 18

Number of Journal Articles Published by Professors of Education with the Ed.D. or Other Doctorate by Father's Occupation and Sex (Per Cent)

		Men			Women		
		Professional	White Collar[a]	Skilled, Semi-Skilled Labor	Professional	White Collar	Skilled, Semi-Skilled Labor
Number of Journal Articles	None	22.4	20.5	26.0	39.3	35.8	38.3
	1-4	41.6	39.8	45.2	25.9	34.3	42.1
	5-10	14.6	18.2	13.6	16.9	17.0	14.6
	11 or more	21.3	21.6	15.3	17.9	12.9	4.9
	Weighted N	853	3352	2652	200	618	404

[a]See notes for Table 1.